CONTROVERSY, NO SOAP
—John Cogley

THE

Commonweal

The Eisenhower Court

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France and the Future

CRISIS OF BELIEF

by Wallace Fowlie

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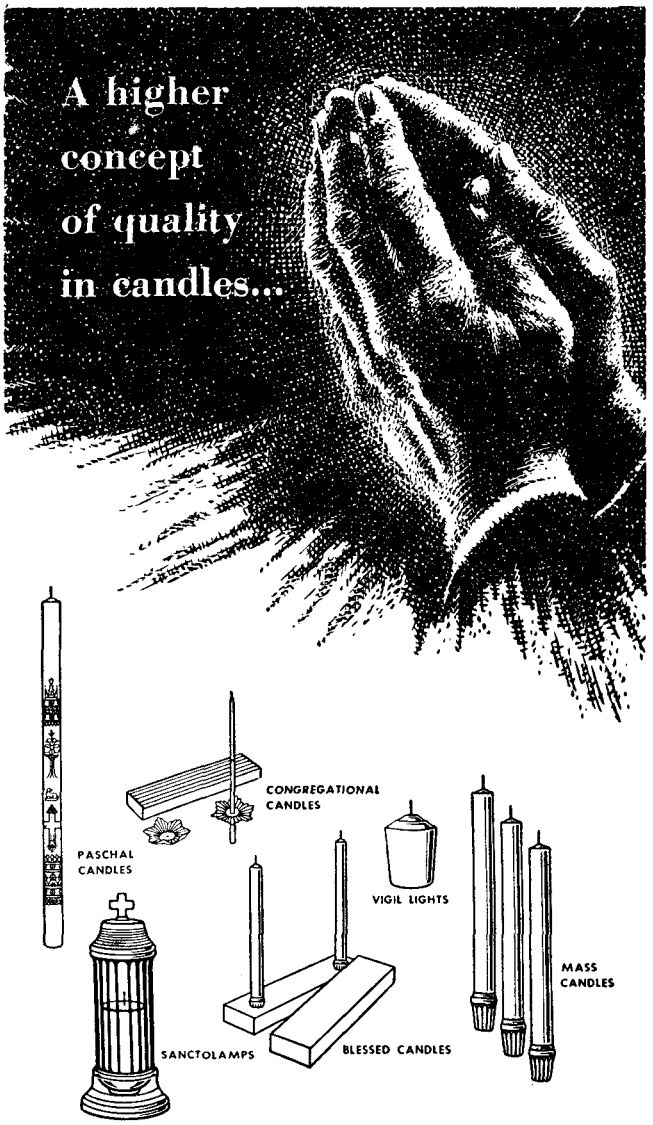

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THIS WEEK

Week by Week 627

The Eisenhower Court
by William V. Shannon 630

Behind the Myth
by Gunnar D. Kumlien 633

Controversy, No Soap
by John Cogley 635

Crisis of Belief
by Wallace Fowlie 636

The Stage
by Richard Hayes 638

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 639

Communications 640

Books 642

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

NOT SO SMALL FAVORS

AT THIS WRITING, the United Nations Emergency Force maintains its precarious control—on Egyptian sufferance only—over the Gaza Strip and the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba. President Nasser is making threatening noises over Gaza, and mob demonstrations there have reached the stage of riot. Egyptian spokesmen have indicated that they intend, as before, to bar Israeli ships from the Gulf of Aqaba and from the Suez Canal when it is opened. The Israeli government insists upon its right to free passage through the canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. While steps are being taken to complete the clearing of the canal, Egypt and the principal users of the canal—Britain and France—have reached no agreement as to its administration and operation. Communist influence in the Middle East is probably stronger than ever, and Arab nationalism continues to smolder menacingly. There seems nothing in the situation to be thankful for.

Perhaps there is not much to be thankful for, but there is something. The UN remains an operative force for world peace. Both Egypt and Israel have made concessions—small ones, perhaps, and grudgingly—but they have shown that they will negotiate. There is no fighting. Israel's army has withdrawn from Egyptian soil, and with Gaza held by UN forces, there will be no border raids and reprisals—a major cause of Arab-Israeli conflict. The other major cause of dispute—freedom of passage through Aqaba and the canal—is temporarily removed by the stoppage of the canal and UN occupation of the entrance of the Gulf and is now at least open to the possibility of peaceful settlement.

It is a saddening commentary on the state of world affairs when we are able to draw comfort from conditions no more promising than these, but sad or not, this is the state of the world. Having spent four months in the fire, we must rejoice to have got back into the frying pan.

We find ourselves in this relatively cooler position not as a result of the beneficent and irresistible will of the UN, it should be noted, but as the result of an international diplomatic effort which was undeniably herculean. This is not to say that there were no blunders nor that we can approve of the blusters and brinkmanship called into play. It is not to say that our Middle Eastern policies past and present should not be given rigid scrutiny and re-examination. But it is to say that the diplomatic representatives of the UN and many of the member nations, including the United States, have won a limited but real success in a task that seemed impossible only a few days back. This must be acknowledged, and credit given where it is due.

IT HAS BEEN made clear that UN action is no substitute for diplomacy. The UN heard innumerable national justifications and declarations of righteousness, which ended finally in stalemate. We do not wish to minimize the importance of the part played by the UN in the achievement of this and other protections of peace in the world, but the real work of settling this international dispute was surely not accomplished in front of the TV cameras. It was done in countless, wearisome diplomatic meetings, where dedicated men strove endlessly to distinguish between the possible and the impossible in hard, specific terms.

The diplomat must often be a pragmatist—an arch-realist. Unlike many a political observer and editorial writer, he cannot afford to concern himself with the passionate fixing of blame for an international emergency. He cannot content himself

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with moral judgments—what ought to have been done in the past, even what ought to be done in the present. His concern is largely what can and cannot be done in the situation as it exists.

The handling of the Arab-Israeli crisis is open to justified criticism on both ethical and practical grounds. There is no intention here of forgetting these facts or of attempting to paint a rosy picture of the Middle Eastern situation. The Middle East remains a powder keg, and the future is not bright. Our troubles in this area are in large part, it seems, the result of our faults and failures of the past. Nevertheless, to make the best of a bad job is perhaps as difficult as to make the best of a good one, and this is what has been done.

NO EASY WAY

THE CITIZEN who seeks his way around on the foreign aid question has his work cut out for him. Even a basic starting point among the various studies commissioned by the President and the Senate is lacking. Although the Fairless report was hailed as testimony supporting foreign aid, it proved to be concentrated almost wholly on military expenditures, actually opposed to outright grants and insistent on repayment in dollars.

Widespread desire for budget-cutting (and lower taxes) makes the eight billion dollar item labeled "foreign aid" particularly vulnerable. A bipartisan conservative combine, North and South, will make the going particularly rough in Congress. It will be hard to go on record as favoring undiminished, if not expanded, foreign aid and reduced domestic appropriations.

But other political actualities are quite as tangible. The Senate study headed by Max F. Millikan of M.I.T. contends, according to *Business Week,* that "the Russian leaders' last best hope is that they may be able to gain control, by non-military means, of the vast political and economic revolution sweeping the underdeveloped countries." The Russians are now said to place their greatest hopes of conquering the world on education. Certainly the superior numbers of scientists and technicians they are now turning out year after year can supply a large army of indoctrinated emissaries for dispatch to underdeveloped lands which serve as important sources of strategic raw materials and often supply key American airbases.

That is one reason the United States should play a larger part in enabling other countries eventually to achieve economic strength and political stability. This aspect of the matter cannot be evaded in the debate on foreign aid.

"SLIGHTLY RIDICULOUS"

CONGRESSMAN Francis E. Walter is normally death on immigration, and the Hungarian tragedy shook him out of this attitude only momentarily. After first favoring admitting Hungarian refugees in considerable numbers, he soon reversed himself and charged that the majority of the first 6500 Hungarian refugees admitted to this country were Communists who feared rebel vengeance. He even reported that while in Europe he himself saw refugees tearing up their membership cards in the Communist Party as they approached the border to free Austria!

The facts in this matter seem simple enough, however, and it would be tragic if irresponsible statements were allowed to obscure them at a time when thousands of refugees are still living in camps in Austria under the most desperate conditions. A recent issue of the *Catholic Messenger* of Davenport, Iowa, carried some pertinent remarks by Monsignor Edward Swanstrom, executive director of Catholic Relief Services, who knows the refugee situation at first hand. Commenting on Representative Walter's charges, he said: "The facts are that of the 24,000 [Hungarian refugees who have entered this country], only five have been deported because of a question of Communist affiliation. In forty-two cases where allegations of Communist affiliation were made, the Immigration Service is satisfied that the charges were untrue. The refugees were processed quickly and it should not surprise anyone to find that a few Communists were included. But to say that most of them were Communists is slightly ridiculous." For those interested in an objective and balanced appraisal of the situation, Monsignor Swanstrom's remarks would seem to qualify.

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH

WHEN CRITICS of the Eisenhower Administration talk about the "one-party press," they usually have, we think, a legitimate point. With a few outstanding exceptions, the nation's newspapers lean over backward to be kind to the Republican regime; for them "Be Kind to the GOP" week comes every seven days. This kind of kid-glove treatment for the Eisenhower Administration

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is not healthy, and if it raises the blood pressure of those who oppose the Administration's major policies, this fact is understandable. Lately, however, perhaps in reaction to the generally pro-GOP line of most of the nation's press, some critics of the Administration have taken to hitting hard at the President's frequent absences from Washington, and on this course we strongly disagree, for we doubt the legitimacy and the wisdom of this kind of criticism.

The President's health is a matter of serious concern, not only to himself and his family, but to the nation and the world. If he is to keep his health, the doctors say he must cut down the non-essential, ceremonial aspects of the work of the Presidency, and they prescribe a regime which would include regular periods of rest, relaxation and exercise. Mr. Eisenhower himself has always been quite frank about his health; although some GOP spokesmen did try to make the President's heart attack and subsequent operation sound like little more than a bad cold, nonetheless the facts about the President's condition were generally known before the election. Yet many people simply said then that they would prefer Mr. Eisenhower as a half-time President to any one else full-time, and he was therefore returned to office by a substantial majority. Given these circumstances, critical comment now that might conceivably inhibit Mr. Eisenhower from seeking rest when he needs it strikes us as unfair and unwise. The President has four hard years ahead of him, and he must be free to pace his activities as best he can with that fact in mind.

HOWARD FAST, FORMER COMMUNIST

HOWARD FAST, long regarded by American Communists as their leading writer, has launched a severe attack on the Soviet regime. Although he stated that he still thought the Communist Party had given him and America much that was positive, his criticism would have been impossible before his recent break with the Party. And the Communist organs *Masses and Mainstream* and the *Worker* would probably not have printed such criticism before the tragedy of Hungary. Mr. Fast's statements and the Communist reaction thus have an importance beyond themselves, for they form one small, indicative part of the world reaction to recent Russian brutality.

Mr. Fast was able to say that the "Red Army destroyed the Wehrmacht and wiped the threat of Hitlerism from this earth forever," a somewhat distorted account of the historical event. He also spoke of the Party's "achievement in terms of American democracy." These were the old familiar phrases, not all of which are gone. More impressive were his other comments: "What we witness in Russia is not democratic or humanist socialism. It is totalitarian socialism. It is to say exactly this—and to say it as forcefully as I can—that I left the Party." And "the Communist Party was never able to escape from its own rigidity, its monolithic dogmatism."

Some of the truths about Russia, Mr. Fast learned only recently, he said. The real Stalin, for instance, was revealed to him only by the Khrushchev report. But it was clear that he had accepted severe limitations for years and was now throwing them off. "I cannot go back to writing within the censorship of either a local or international movement. . . . I accept criticism, but I cannot accept censorship." And when a Communist interviewer pointedly asked if he did not think the "capitalist interests" of America had censored him, Mr. Fast agreed that they had. Commercial publishers would not publish his works, he said. Yet, he pointed out, he continued to write and publish his own books; they were read and circulated here. "A Russian writer who through his writing had attempted to expose the very real abuses of democracy in his own country would have had his work die stillborn. He himself, as the record shows, would have either been disgraced, jailed or even put to death."

How should such statements be greeted? They are obvious, of course. As Mr. Fast says, the record shows them to be true. They are news to no one. But it takes a degree of courage for a man to make such statements when he has carefully suppressed them during most of his life and knows that, despite his disclaimers, they undercut the organization to which he has devoted his youth and talents. Still one cannot, even when he admits Mr. Fast's moral courage, greet him as a lost sheep returned to the fold. His own attitude would prevent this even if a persistent awareness of recent world history did not. Mr. Fast's statements probably represent a real desire on his part to return to the community of free men. But however welcome such a return, it is attended with sadness. For Mr. Fast has served the Party. Although they have little use for each other today, Mr. Fast has long served the cause of injustice and deceit. From such bondage no one emerges unscathed. His own wasted years and misdirected talents are part of the destruction Communism has visited upon the entire world.

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The Eisenhower Court

"SEEMINGLY WITHOUT CONSCIOUS DESIGN, MR. EISENHOWER HAS CONSTRUCTED A COHERENT LIBERAL MAJORITY ON THE COURT"

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

IT IS ONE of the striking ironies of contemporary history that President Eisenhower, a conservative, has given the Supreme Court a more liberal tone than did Harry Truman, his liberal predecessor.

In appointing Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justice William Brennan, Mr. Eisenhower has, seemingly without conscious design, constructed for the first time in more than a decade something approaching a coherent liberal majority bloc on the Court. Warren and Brennan, together with Justices Hugo Black, William Douglas, and Felix Frankfurter compose the first liberal majority since the Roosevelt Court disintegrated on the rocks of personal animosity in 1945-46. These five justices in the years just ahead seem likely to provide a fresh impulse to judicial liberalism, particularly in the important field of civil liberties.

The irony of this emerging liberalism (and the budding lines of precedent are already causing conservative dismay at the President's handiwork) is all the more paradoxical because Mr. Eisenhower has accomplished his feat by inadvertence. Chief Justice Warren's appointment was dictated, not by any reasoned forecast of his probable judicial opinions, but by his compelling eminence as a figure in the Republican party. Justice Brennan, as he would no doubt privately concede, owes his selection largely to his fortuitous status as an Irish Catholic with some judicial reputation who resided in an urban Eastern state in an election year.

It is widely believed—and probably not too unfairly—that the President and Mr. Brownell were more preoccupied last autumn, as were many observers who automatically saluted the appointment, with the attributes of religion and ancestry which made the new justice politically available than with the precise character of his intellectual commitment. That commitment, it would now appear, includes a sturdy faith in the due process clause as a restraint on legislative action and a steady vigilance for the civil liberties of the individual United States citizen.

Mr. Shannon, Washington correspondent for the N.Y. Post, is a frequent contributor.

Mr. Brennan, fifty, is the youngest member of the Supreme Court. Before his appointment to the New Jersey state bench in 1949, he had a wide practice as a corporation lawyer in the labor relations field. As a state judge, his opinions reflected an active concern for the rights of individuals. He participated in a decision striking down a Newark statute banning burlesque on the grounds this ordinance infringed the right of freedom of speech in the sense of artistic expression guaranteed by the First Amendment. This decision has a larger relevance beyond its bizarre origins as a clue to Brennan's thinking on two "obscenity cases" which are now pending in the Supreme Court.

The Court long deferred taking cases involving the power of local police authorities and state censorship boards to regulate the sale of books. On February 25, the Court held unanimously in an opinion written by Justice Frankfurter that a Michigan book censorship law was unconstitutional. If the Court makes the same finding in the pending cases, it may establish a precedent that will be as far-reaching for the book industry as the "Miracle" case was for the motion picture industry.

In his private capacity, Brennan has publicly attacked the excesses of Congressional investigations. At Spring Lake, New Jersey in November, 1954, he told a lawyers' meeting: "Abuse of individual rights today takes on modern dress—not the sack and the screw, but the distorted press release with the distorted version of what happens at secret sessions; the slanted epithet at the hapless and helpless victim. There are hopeful signs that we, as a civilized and decent people, have in the nick of time become ashamed of our toleration of the barbarism that has marked proceedings at some hearings."

These words were clearly a thrust at Senator McCarthy's conduct of the hearings at the Army radar center in nearby Monmouth. No doubt, one of the "hopeful signs" Brennan saw on the horizon was the censure of McCarthy by the Senate. Although Brennan at his confirmation hearing last month chose not to debate the obvious implications of his language with

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McCarthy, there is no reason to believe he has changed his views.

Political factors have usually exercised a controlling influence in appointments to the Supreme Court, although not ordinarily of the narrowly political kind which prompted Mr. Brownell to recommend Justices Warren and Brennan to the President.

President Theodore Roosevelt, contemplating the appointment of Oliver Wendell Holmes, wrote his friend Cabot Lodge in the summer of 1902: "In the ordinary and low sense which we attach to the words 'partisan' and 'politician,' a judge of the Supreme Court should be neither. But in the higher sense . . . he is not in my judgment fitted for the position unless he is a party man, a constructive statesman . . . keeping in mind his relations with his fellow statesmen in other branches of the Government. . . . This is true at the present day.

"Now I should like to know that Judge Holmes was in entire sympathy with our views, that is with your views and mine, before I would feel justified in appointing him," Roosevelt continued. "I should hold myself as guilty of an irreparable wrong to the nation if I should put in his place any man who was not absolutely sane and sound on the great national policies for which we stand in public life."

Most Presidents have displayed Roosevelt's concern, if not his candor, about the philosophical outlook of their appointees to the Supreme Court. The law is what the judges say it is and the judges are who the President says they are. This blunt truism is much deplored in some conservative quarters. Supreme Court justices, it is argued, should be chosen solely on the basis of prior judicial experience and without regard to their philosophical preconceptions. One may wonder whether these critics would raise the same cry of judicial inexperience if Mr. Eisenhower had appointed, say, Mr. Clarence Manion. A requirement of prior judicial experience would have precluded many of our greatest judges from John Marshall to Charles Evans Hughes from serving on the Court.

These critics, moreover, choose to deny the reality which Theodore Roosevelt recognized when he referred to an ideal justice as one who is "a constructive statesman" who keeps in mind "his relations with his fellow statesmen in other branches." The Supreme Court in our system is unlike any other court in this country or in any other country, for it can definitively overrule the decisions of the executive and legislative bodies. In cases of high importance, the Court's function is, in the best sense, political, for in interpreting the Constitution it is helping to shape public policy. Prior political experience may well be not a handicap but an asset in performing this function, perhaps even a more worthwhile asset than experience in the grinding routine of a lower court.

MARKED CHANGES in the personnel of the Court inevitably demarcate an era in judicial history. Sometimes changes initiate a revolution in constitutional interpretation; more often, they signal a subtle shift in mood and emphasis. A shift of this latter kind, slower yet substantially important, has been under way since the death of Fred Vinson and the elevation of Warren to the Chief Justiceship three and one-half years ago. The death of Justice Jackson and the retirement of Justices Minton and Reed have brought about a new court, the Warren Court.

In his relatively brief career on the Court Mr. Warren has shown impressive capacity. His written opinions as an individual justice, while devoid of the literary brilliance of the late Justice Jackson and the formidable erudition of Justice Frankfurter, are consistently informed by humane common sense and an incisive grasp of the central issue in dispute. More important, however, have been his gifts of personal leadership. A Chief Justice can exercise an important influence on the work of the Court if he exercises his limited official authority over his colleagues with sufficient personal force and astuteness. It is within his power to assign the writing of opinions, to postpone the hearing of cases, and to defer the delivery of opinions. When skilfully exercised, these powers enable "the Chief" to broaden the areas of agreement, reconcile dissents, and subtly influence his colleagues to his own way of thinking. No Chief Justice can hope for total success in this constant process of secret intellectual diplomacy within the Court, but Mr. Warren has accomplished much, most spectacularly, of course, in the 9-0 school desegregation decision of 1954 but in many less famous cases as well.

Chief Justice Warren came to the Court when its prestige was at a low ebb. Vinson, his predecessor, was a Kentuckian of notable charm who in his tenure from 1946 to 1953 had managed to assuage the ravaging bitterness of the Black-Jackson feud which erupted publicly at the time of his appointment. He was not, however, a commanding intellectual figure and his colleagues did not readily follow his lead on larger judicial issues. Until 1949, the Court was loosely divided into three groups: Justices Black, Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge forming a frustrated liberal bloc highly articulate in its dedication to the protection of civil liberties and usually leaning toward the less advantaged groups in economic cases; Justices Jackson and Frankfurter usually working in tandem with one another but sharply separated from their liberal brethren by a greater avowed reverence for legal precedent and by a chasm of personal distrust; and Justices Reed and Burton, the two conservative members. With the sudden deaths of Murphy and Rutledge in the summer of 1949, the liberal bloc was reduced from frustration to impotence. President Truman appointed Tom Clark

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and Sherman Minton, conservatives of minimal distinction. For the next several years, the Court veered uneasily. On economic issues, on civil liberties such as freedom of speech, and on the complex issues arising out of the Communist prosecutions and the loyalty-security system, the Court adopted almost predictably reactionary positions. It narrowly construed the rights of the individual citizen as against the claims of the government and, paradoxically, the powers of the government as against the claims of corporations.

Recent changes in personnel have begun to transform this scene. The replacement of Vinson and Minton by Warren and Brennan, respectively, has revitalized liberal strength. The death of Jackson (succeeded by Harlan) has served to diminish the longstanding alienation of Frankfurter, his friend and ally, from the liberals. The retirement last month of Reed deprives the conservative bloc of its senior member and its intellectual leader. His successor, whatever his views, will not inherit Reed's seniority and prestige. Justices Burton, Clark, and Harlan, the present conservative members, are not the equals of their liberal colleagues headed by the Chief Justice and newly strengthened by the accession of Brennan.

The Court remains, however, narrowly divided, and few forms of speculation are as hazardous as forecasting how individual judges will decide particular cases. But it is possible to look at certain recent decisions and the shape of issues now pending and make a rough assessment of the balance of forces within the Court.

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL problem in the nation, that of racial integration, is likely to provoke the least controversy in the Court. The school decision of 1954 laid down a clear and unanimous rule against segregation. The justices are likely to continue to grant local authorities considerable time and discretion in the implementation of the decision, but not unlimited time or unlimited discretion that crosses the line into open defiance. On jury service, voting rights, bus and train transportation, and almost every other aspect of the racial problem, the Court for a decade and a half has ruled firmly and consistently against segregation. The South appears to have lost the battle irrevocably on the judicial front.

The persistent specter of economic monopoly continues to vex and divide the Court. The mightiest industrial-financial combine in the nation is the complex of automobile-rubber-and-chemical companies centered around the General Motors Corporation and the DuPont interests. There is now awaiting decision by the Court a government anti-trust suit to force the DuPonts to divest themselves of their large stock holdings in General Motors. Another suit is pending in the lower courts to force General Motors to get out of the bus manufacturing field. This Court might set some precedents here.

The broad area of civil liberties is another of the Court's major concerns. Nearly a generation ago, the late Chief Justice Stone ruled that the First Amendment protecting freedom of speech, press, and assembly had a preferential position in the Constitution on the theory that the rights secured by this amendment were the foundation of all other rights guaranteed in the Constitution. But that was in the days of the Court's most liberal phase when it was dominated by the appointees of Franklin Roosevelt. The grey years of the Vinson Court saw a steady retreat from this forward position and an almost unremitting contraction of the rights enshrined in the privileged sanctuary of the First Amendment. One of the low-water marks was the Court's 4-to-4 decision in the Bailey case permitting the government to fire employees and besmirch their reputations as "disloyal" on the basis of unsworn testimony and information from secret informers. Under Mr. Warren the Court shows signs of swinging back.

The Court faced the secret informer issue again last year in the Jay case, which involved the deportation of an elderly man, who had resided in this country for forty years, because he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1935 to 1940, a time when such membership was not a crime. Jay proved to the hearing examiner's satisfaction that he was entitled to discretionary relief on the basis of the known record, but the Board of Immigration Appeals ordered him deported nonetheless because of "confidential information" from an unidentified source. Justice Reed upheld the deportation in a 5-to-4 decision. Justices Warren, Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter each wrote stirring dissents.

"In conscience, I cannot agree with the opinion of the majority. It sacrifices to form too much of the American spirit of fair play in both our judicial and administrative processes," Warren declared.

Where secret informers are used, he continued "such a hearing is not an administrative hearing in the American sense of the term. It is no hearing. . . . If sanction of this use and effect of 'confidential' information is confirmed against this petitioner by a process of judicial reasoning, it may be recognized as a principle of law to be extended against American citizens in a myriad of ways," the Chief Justice warned.

It seems entirely possible that this decision would have gone the other way had Justice Brennan then been a member of the Court. He gave what may be a significant clue to his sensitivity to this kind of injustice in a minor case decided last month. This involved the power of fire marshals to cross-examine persons involved in a fire disaster without their attorneys being present. This, too, was a 5-to-4 decision

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with Frankfurter swinging over to join the conservatives and Brennan voting with Warren, Black, and Douglas in dissent.

The star case awaiting decision in the present spring term is that of John Watkins. He freely avowed to a Congressional committee that he had formerly been a member of the Communist Party. He was willing to testify about his own activities but refused to "name names" of other individuals who were members with him. The decision in this case may establish for the first time clear boundary rules for Congressional committees in their interrogation of witnesses connected directly or indirectly with the Communist Party. On Watkins' fate hinges the disposition of the cases of playwright Arthur Miller and other witnesses who have drawn lines at becoming informers on grounds of conscience.

The decision in the Watkins case is likely to provide a good indication of the future direction of the Warren Court. If on this and similar issues the liberal bloc takes shape as it now promises to do, and if it survives intact for several sessions, the decisions of this court may turn out to be one of the most enduring legacies of "Modern Republicanism."

ARAB MILITARY STRENGTH

Behind the Myth

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

WHAT WAS PROVED by the Suez conflict? One thing that was conclusively established, according to many European observers here, was the extreme weakness of the Arab world from a military point of view. This may not be the most important factor to consider in discussing the Middle East, but it should not be ignored, either.

I saw the Egyptian forces at close quarters in 1948. At that time their army was a long, long way from being an effective fighting force. Since that time considerable improvements have been made, and as a result, according to the military experts, the Egyptians did much better in the recent Suez operations than they did before. Yet the fact remains that within three days after the beginning of hostilities their fighting forces involved had practically ceased to exist as organized units—even if later their rout was officially described as a "successful retreat."

Even more striking than the confusion that marked the Egyptian military operations was the conduct of the Syrian army and the Arab Legion of Jordan. These forces apparently did not dare attack Israel at that strategic moment, in spite of the fact that the bulk of the Israeli army was engaged in the south against the Egyptians, leaving the northern borders protected only by reserves. Only a short time before, great things had been proudly predicted in Jordan, where the Arab Legion had finally liberated itself from British officers and especially from the restraining influence of its commander, Glubb Pasha, who had been sent packing home to England. If the Legion did not strike in order to erase Israel from the map of the world, so the story went, it was due only to its sense of responsibility. But if the West continued to arm Israel, the murmurs continued, no human force would be able to stop the angry Arabs.

Then Israel attacked, far away in the south, and panic immediately broke out in Arab Jerusalem, which was most exposed. The contrast between the failure to act and the saber-rattling that had preceded it was startling. The wildest rumors circulated, and the most frequent question was: When do *they* arrive? Not even in the beginning was it said: Now *we* finally have a unique opportunity to strike!

A unique opportunity it really was. Israel not only had the bulk of its troops engaged in the south, but it was, at least technically, the aggressor; a military alliance existed between Egypt and the other neighbors of Israel; the powerful Soviet bloc helped the Arab countries and provided them abundantly with excellent modern arms. If Syria and Jordan had attacked then, world opinion would probably not have objected, as the action would have been considered Arab self-defense. Yet the Arabs did not strike.

THIS VIOLENT contrast between saber-rattling before the fact and subsequent military impotence has been followed by the most improbable national delusions. These have taken the form of wild dreams of imaginary prowess, which have not the slightest contact with reality. A special stamp was issued, with

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Mr. Kumlien, The Commonweal's regular correspondent in Rome, recently made an extended tour of the Middle East.

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great fanfare. Nasser presided over "victory parades" in Port Said, presumably to celebrate the "successful retreat." Similar ceremonies took place in Damascus to commemorate the Syrian "hero-martyr" Jules Jammal, who allegedly lost his life as a volunteer in the Egyptian fleet off Port Said, where he is said to have sunk the French warship *Jean Bart* practically single-handed. While this particular celebration was going on, the French were showing the *Jean Bart* in the port of Toulon to anybody who was interested, but this did not have the slightest influence on the proceedings in Damascus, where a street was named after the "hero-martyr." I asked the Syrian officers if they did not know that the *Jean Bart* was on view in Toulon, but they just smiled and explained that the ship the French showed in Toulon was not the *Jean Bart,* but another warship of the same size and type, with a falsified number.

Such military dreams of imaginary prowess seem likely to increase rather than decrease, and they mix well with the general nationalistic delirium now found in the Arab countries. All this might be slightly comic, if it were not for the fact that the most desperate decisions could be taken in this atmosphere. On this score, about the only hopeful aspect seems to be that the Eastern bloc must now have serious doubts about its Arab allies and proteges. After Suez, the Soviet is surely wondering whether it really pays to throw good rubles after the money which has already proved to be so badly spent. In three days Israel captured so much war material originally provided to Egypt by the Communists that today it could probably knock both Syria and Jordan off their feet, using only that material. For the Soviet bloc, this must be a most disillusioning turn of events. And if for some reason in the future Israel should attack only Jordan, for example, would Syria then find some excuse for not intervening in that battle? It is a pretty safe guess that Communist military attachés stationed in the Arab world have been sending home pessimistic reports recently. Probably the only bright spot for them is Algeria, where the Arabs have proved their ability to wage guerrilla warfare, based on terrorist tactics, as well as they have against Israel.

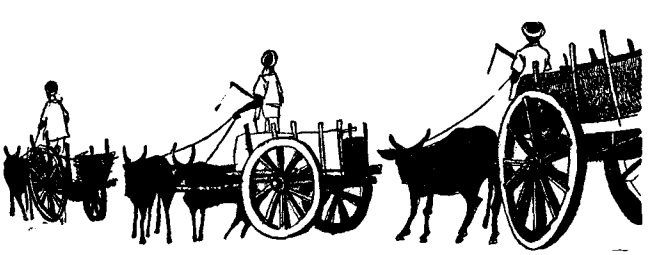
THE FACT that the Arab armies turned out to be so ill-prepared for a full-scale war was undoubtedly one big reason for the Soviet threat to send "volunteers" during the Suez conflict. The possibility of such "volunteers" was the only military factor on the Arab side apt to impress the West. If another war should break out in the Middle East, the Arabs could hope to achieve success only with "volunteers" of this kind.

To the best of my knowledge, however, no Western observers on the spot have any reliable information indicating that "volunteers" have really arrived in numbers large enough to exert a decisive influence in case of a sudden conflict. There are some military experts from the Communist countries, and a certain number of Arab officers receive training in Communist countries. But this state of affairs is obviously much less dangerous for the West than a massive influx of "volunteers" would be.

Moreover, in the event of a new conflict neutral military experts do not think much of the Soviet's chances of rushing in great numbers of such volunteers, just on practical grounds. The chances for the West to stop them, according to these experts, are too great. If they came by air they could be intercepted from the strong air bases in Turkey, Iran and Iraq; they could not come by sea because the allied fleets still "rule the waves" both in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

If the danger of Soviet "volunteers" does not seem acute now, there is great danger in the division among the Arab countries themselves, particularly between Iraq (which is ruled by the pro-Western Nuri Said and is a member of the Baghdad Pact) on the one hand, and its Arab neighbors, Syria, Jordan and Egypt, on the other. Here feverish attempts are being made on both sides to overthrow one another's governments. In Damascus many well-known politicians and high officers are in jail for having tried to overthrow the present pro-Communist government, with the help of Iraq. In Baghdad a still greater number of politicians and high officers are in jail for having tried to overthrow the government of Nuri Said, with help from Syria.

As such efforts continue ceaselessly on both sides, a steady flow of political refugees arrives in Damascus from Baghdad and in Baghdad from Damascus. If any of these attempts to overthrow a rival government were successful, the chances for civil war in the country affected would be great indeed. There are still areas of the globe where all this might seem relatively unimportant, but not in the middle of the richest oil districts in the world. Would the West, in case of the chaos that would result, be able to refrain from intervention, particularly after the proclamation of the Eisenhower doctrine? And in that event would the Eastern bloc be able to resist some kind of action, at least to the extent of trying to turn the area into a new Algeria? Here lies great danger.



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CONTROVERSY, NO SOAP

LAST NOVEMBER George Rosen wrote an article on TV censorship in *Variety* which was summed up in a recent issue of *Information Service,* a weekly publication of the National Council of Churches. Here is a quotation lifted from the National Council's account: "This time . . . it's the advertisers and agency, rather than the networks, who appear to be 'running scared' and are indiscriminately bluepenciling, no matter how flimsy the sensitivity that might be involved. Story properties that would have had little difficulty passing muster a few seasons back—and in fact were produced—are today being tossed . . . for fear of audience reaction."

In the February issue of *Commentary,* Henry Popkin has a percipient and amusing piece called "Liberal Unpolitics on Stage and Screen." Popkin notes the case of the Broadway hit *Born Yesterday,* its handling in Hollywood and later on television. In the screen version "the sex was bowdlerized." Billie Dawn became Harry Brock's "fiancée" rather than his mistress and was not permitted to explain, as she did on the stage, that she gave up show business because "Harry likes to get to bed early." The television version made no bones about the couple's unholy liaison. The line about getting to bed was restored, for instance. But for TV audiences "the politics was bowdlerized." Billie was not permitted to call Harry a "big Fascist" (she called him "Napoleon!" instead) and the political corruption angle was played down.

Again, Popkin traces the fate of *The Male Animal,* a political comedy of the 1920's based on the crisis in a college community when a professor insisted on reading a famous letter written by Bartolomeo Vanzetti. In the first movie version, the story was kept fairly intact. By 1952, when a second screen version was made, the campus crisis was depoliticized. The Vanzetti letter vanished from the plot. Now the burning question was whether a burlesque dancer should be permitted to attend college and take part in a student musical. *The Male Animal* had become *She's Working Her Way Through College.* Four years later television was interested in the play. It was understood, however, that the focal issue would again have to be changed from the Vanzetti letter to something less "political." But last November, *Variety* reported: "Sacco-Vanzetti Too Hot for TV."

Popkin believes that "the popular arts will continue their strategic withdrawal [from controversial issues]. They will find safer and narrower ground, well behind the line of fire, in which there will still be room for the postures and gestures of liberalism"—but stop there. Slavery will continue to be denounced as long as the denouncers are wearing ancient Biblical robes. The civil liberties of boys with green hair or men who wear beards will be valiantly defended but there is not much likelihood of television's taking up the cause of people less acceptable or more credible than these.

The television industry is particularly susceptible to pressure, of course. It is usually called "public pressure" though the mighty public rarely if ever rises up as a body to voice a protest. Pressure-group spokesmen like to speak in the name of millions, but it is no secret that the millions usually have little knowledge, and even slighter interest, in the protests made in their name. The television people well know this. They know that even if they were to ignore the protests there would be no riots in the streets. How many listeners are truly indignant is really not very important, though.

Sponsors seek "100% acceptability," not because they really expect to corner the soap or cigarette market or even because they worry very much about losing the comparatively trivial sales an offensive bit in a musical comedy might cost them. What they are mainly interested in is divorcing their product from public controversy.

If a brand of soap flakes is to move, as they say, the flakes must remain steadfastly neutral, as it were. The mass producer can not afford to let his product be generally identified as the liberal's brand or the conservative's brand, the Democrat's or the Republican's, the egghead's or the yahoo's. The soap, so to speak, must be delivered in a plain wrapper. To achieve this kind of political anonymity, it is necessary to avoid anything that might arouse controversy.

This makes good sense from a business viewpoint. But it does create problems for the television industry. The industry is trying valiantly to accomplish a double purpose: on the one hand to function as a medium of mass communication and on the other to sell as much soap as the traffic will bear. Its leaders strive earnestly to keep the inevitable conflicts between these two purposes to a minimum.

Controversy on the air is limited to the Republican-versus-Democrat sort of thing where neither side can wear the sponsor's label. But we hear no socialists on television. Atheists and even agnostics, to judge by what we hear, are practically non-existent in the United States. There are no "soft-headed liberals" and soon there will be no "hard-headed conservatives." The industry seems intent on walking down the straight and narrow path between truth and falsehood, as Honor Tracy's Irish preacher put it.

JOHN COGLEY.

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Crisis of Belief

WALLACE FOWLIE

ALL OVER France, the question of Algeria is the inescapable subject of discussion. There is not much doubt that the majority of the French want to keep Algeria. The accomplishments of French colonization in the past were very great indeed, and these overweigh in the minds of the French (who in their enthusiasm for the past are prone to forget that it *is* past) the events, conditions and attitudes which make the Algerians desirous today of achieving independence.

The economic and moral elements of the debate are so intertwined that it is all but impossible for a non-Algerian and a non-Frenchman to bear judgment. Nevertheless, it is clear that a crisis has come upon France and upon French-American relations. Such a commentator as Thierry Maulnier, in *Le Figaro,* claims that in Algeria France is fighting for her last chance, and that French-American friendship is in grave danger at this moment. He speaks directly to Americans when he writes, "Do not force France to choose between her African destiny and her American friendship."

French literary life also reflects the impact of this crisis. The young French intellectual has always expected that the writers he admires will take a stand on the issues of the day. His ideas are often developed and conditioned by the participation of the writers in the controversies. Today François Mauriac, representative of the oldest generation of writers, writes in the weekly newspaper of Mendès-France, *L'Express,* comments on political and literary issues drawn from his diary, *Bloc-Notes.* For this tangible evidence he gives each week of participation and commitment, he has the approval of countless young Frenchmen, Catholic and non-Catholic. Malraux belongs to the generation after Mauriac's. He is silent at the moment, and seems to have withdrawn from every political controversy. The young are puzzled by his retirement. They often ask Mauriac, through the medium of letters, to explain the silence of Malraux and the case of a man once militant who seems now to have given up the fight.

Mauriac acknowledges the fact that only Malraux can give the real answer. Even in the twenties, at the beginning of Malraux's brilliant career, it was difficult to make out how much of his thought and writing was ideological, and how much was bound up with his personal destiny. He fought in Spain in the thirties and he fought in the front line against Nazi Germany in 1940. But since that time he has not participated in political or ideological action. To understand Malraux's power of participation, a young Frenchman today would have to read *La Condition Humaine.* Mauriac is the only Catholic writer of eminence today, and I might even say the only great French writer, with Sartre, who commits himself on all the pressing issues and gives the reasons for his opinion. In this sense, he is the only writer today who is continuing the earlier work of Bloy, Péguy, Bernanos, Mounier.

Mauriac knows that the greatest danger of all the possible and real dangers that face France is that by which Frenchmen, and perhaps particularly young Frenchmen, may be led to doubt their own country. That is, to doubt the reality and the spiritual vocation of France. On this subject, French logic is implacable. To have doubts concerning France would be equivalent to having doubts concerning Mankind. It would be the final capitulation before the force of mortality which attacks civilizations as well as individuals. At the close of the first World War, Paul Valéry wrote, "Now we know that civilizations are mortal." Since the period of 1920, this sentence, or rather the content of this sentence, has never ceased haunting the French.

TO BELIEVE in his country, the young Frenchman today has to believe in values incarnated by France. For a Christian this is not unrelated to his own personal spiritual vocation. What are these values around which the French can rally? The most harassing problem of the moment is in this question which is constantly being asked by the young in France. Are the ultimate values to be found in the pure laws of science, or in the emergence of a great leader, or in the renewed vitality of religious faith? All that can be said at this moment of terrifying weakness and what seems to be a kind of disintegration in France, is that many still believe the answer will be found. A great cohesive symbolic force is necessary in every

Mr. Fowlie, professor at Bennington College and editor of the *Journals of Jean Cocteau,* has just returned from France.

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country to give it a sense of direction and power, and a will to live. In a country of such determined individualists as the French are, this unifying force (or symbol) is more difficult to maintain than in other countries.

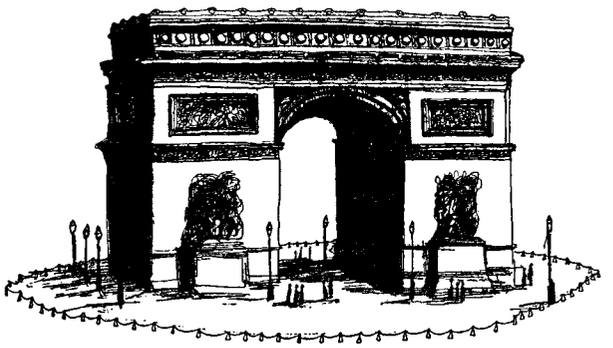
The individualism of the Frenchman, which is so often the source of his brilliance, his creativity, his wit, his independence of thought and his search for justice and truth, may become at such moments as he is passing through today a form of selfishness, of uncharitableness. The French themselves are the first to decry the spread of what they call *"je m'enfoutisme,"* a determination not to care for others or for the values which form the spiritual life of a nation. They acknowledge this with less shame than other national groups, because they are realists as well as disillusionists.

No foreigner can ever analyze the French with the degree of lucidity which they themselves possess. They can give you long and complicated reasons for the present despair, although now they are beginning to weary of the long exposé and refuse to embark on it. They can also provide you with a short succinct reason. This always centers around the government. The majority of the French acknowledge that the form of the government has to be changed, but they no longer see how it can be changed, nor believe that it is possible to hope that it will be changed. This is the tragic impasse France has reached at the beginning of 1957.

Today it is difficult to find traces of surprise in the French for this state of affairs. And very little real perturbation. The public meetings turn into brawls and accomplish nothing. An attitude of indifference has set in. For the French, more than for any other people, indifference is a sign of illness. All the ways out of the present dilemma seem blocked. A theological analogue of this word "indifference" is of course "lack of hope." It is precisely that lack which is being felt in France. And yet the French know that the virtue of hope, like the virtue of faith, is a question of will, of the individual's will to live in hope.

THE HISTORY of France today, as it unfolds, is within a much bigger history. If, for example, the United Nations favor the French claims in Algeria, at best it will be temporary, a kind of respite. The heroism of the Hungarian revolutionaries was admired in France, and yet as the resistance continued there and similar signs appeared in Poland, the French were torn by their feelings of admiration and their fear that if a real conflagration began in Budapest, in Warsaw, and spread to Berlin, for example, all of Europe would inevitably be in arms. A tiny history within a bigger history. That is the harsh lesson the French are trying to assimilate. Until fairly recently the world at large and the French themselves lamented the instability of the French government. But today, when there is stability, they lament it too, because it permits the politics of a Robert Lacoste to continue, and to continue to bring no solution to the Algerian drama.

Thierry Maulnier, in his *Lettre aux Américains,* published in January in *Le Figaro,* and in its Post-Scriptum, two weeks later, warns that any action on the part of the United States through the United Nations, against the French claims in Algeria, will be a vote against France itself (and not merely a vote against the French government or French politics). He compares the French conquest of Algeria with the American conquest of the Far West. Our right over Alaska, he says, is as justified as the French right over the Sahara; our right over Panama as justified as the French right over Suez.



At the same time, in a special issue of *Les Temps Modernes,* Jean-Paul Sartre claims that the Socialist Party in France is dishonored in pursuing the war in Algeria. He sees as the only solution today the reforming of the Popular Front. A Popular Front, without the Communist Party, would be impotent, Sartre says, and the Popular Front, organized against the Communist Party, would be equivalent to a renascence of Fascism. Sartre's thesis states that the Popular Front will have to include the Communist Party. And yet how is this possible, given the prevailing attitudes of the Communist leaders?

In the beginning of 1957, the American visitor in Paris knows that one of the gravest perils for his own world is the estrangement between France and America. It is not clearly a break or an estrangement, but it is something like that. For those Americans who know her, France has always represented the greatest creative force in the world, the principal source of ideas which has provided America herself with many of her fundamental concepts of government and philosophy. The American studies France in order to understand the origins of his civilization, in order to comprehend some of the ancient world and the beginnings of his own experiment. These same Americans who look upon

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France as the country in Europe which replaced Rome in its protection of the highest values of civilization, and other Americans far less knowing of history, feel deeply about the Algerian problem and all that this represents to the French, both to the French who want at all costs to hold Algeria, and to those who are reconciled to the inevitable loss of Algeria.

The grave problems which complicate the drama of Algeria have been created by the French themselves, and it is only the French who can bring a solution to these problems. In the last analysis, it is only they who can act. The three words of the French Revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity (guaranteed to all men), will have to guide the French in the reassessment and the reorganization of their government and their institutions. And the same three words will have to guide the other nations of the world, my own included, and the organizations which unite nations, in their efforts toward a more peaceful future.

THE STAGE

MISS BANKHEAD vs. HENRY JAMES

MISS TALLULAH Bankhead's late adventure in the Jamesian climate was marked by a note of giddy pathos not without precedent in our experience. The artist as buffoon is a notorious aspect of the American scene: often he assumes the guise in frivolous audacity, sometimes in systematic provocation of indifference; occasionally, and with subtle treachery, a jaded audience will impose it. Yet the cost is ever the same: a blunting of impact, some leak of meaning, and a dissipation of energy. We are, however, to my limited knowledge, the only people who prod the mentors of our imaginative life—artists are never less—into such fantastic postures and excess. In that cautionary fable of the boy who cried "wolf," his friends may have been charmed by the sweet lisp of a child's voice, but they knew, in the last accounting, that "wolf" meant *wolf*. We, on the contrary, have cried out so often at the sight of every spavined puppy that no one, neither artist nor audience, recognizes the sudden presence in our midst of the sleek head and the real right fangs.

I suggest this analogy because Miss Bankhead's partisans, a crew of flapping ninnies for the most part, are rumored to have wrecked this lady's attempt to reconstitute herself in "Eugenia": whatever the truth, they coddled (critics among them) the extravagant disorder of her performance and steadfastly refused to see the play as an occasion to restore Miss Bankhead to the rational and lovely concerns of drama. It would lack candor to claim for Mr. Randolph Carter's stage translation of *The Europeans* power or intense authority; the limits of adaptation are intrinsic, as I have consistently acknowledged and emphasized. But if pleasures and beauties were elided from the novel, pleasure and beauty remained—these and a Jamesian breeding which lent savor to a wry comedy of moral manners.

The Europeans is an idyll remembered in asperity, set in a Transcendental Eden outside of Boston, and full of the rich counterpoint of innocence and experience. The Wentworths are grave but sinless Adams whose "sense of responsibility" is nonetheless the "principal furniture" of their consciousness; into their midst come Eugenia, the Baroness Munster and her brother Felix, twigs off the horny European tree of knowledge. The novel's irony lies in the vexing defeat of the formidable Baroness by an innocence invincible and absolute—an innocence, as Mr. F. W. Dupee has observed, which is refined beyond the point of good and evil. All Eugenia's magnitude of scale, her schooled and passionate complexity, are powerless against that: she herself is a pen and ink sketch, drawn in wiry profile, of the woman of ambiguous grandeur James would paint later, with such a darker stress, in Madame Merle. Mr. Carter preserved much of this quality with devotion and charm; no adapation within my memory has so successfully translated fine spiritual implications into the coarser terms of action. Miss Bankhead's wilful imposition obscured many of these; when they did stand in relief, one had the persuasive staging of Mr. Herbert Machiz to thank.

It is fatiguing to lecture, and impertinent to counsel one's superiors, yet Miss Bankhead invites such solicitude: her position as an artist with serious claims to the attention is threatened. No one disputes Miss Bandhead's right to the homage of that title; she is a woman of aspiration, beauty and some unquenchable sense of life. There are aspects of reality she bests with a triumphant grace; the range of her elegance dazzles. Yet she has none of what Mr. Stark Young searchingly calls the austerity of having made choices among ideas of living; she brings to mind the heroine of Miss Cather's *A Lost Lady* who wanted life "on any terms," and that, one need hardly observe, is to have not life abounding, but voracity only, and sensation. It is not alone insecurity of taste which afflicts Miss Bankhead, but some profound insecurity of being—confusion as to the kinds of reality which are desirable and to be elected.

In this disorder, Miss Bankhead resumes a tragic chapter of American experience in the arts. When I wrote some seasons ago of her appearance in a fluffy nullity, I took her charm for the student of contemporary manners to lie in the image she presents of a trapped modern sensibility—a sensibility which has

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sought to validate itself by making a commodity of its personal relations with the world. What I did not then reckon with—being perhaps something of a flapping ninny myself—was the cost of the indiscriminate personality: a toll which exacts, for the pleasures of indulgence and notoriety, the rigor of the inescapable self, some thwarting of possibility, the unlit lamp. Scott Fitzgerald meant something like that when he wrote, out of his soiled and absolute experience: "There are no second acts in American lives." Miss Bankhead might take the theme for meditation: she will not, however, find the way of reconstitution in a society which exploits her confusion for its own febrile and inbred titillation. Rather she must search out in her being a rage for order to affront her rage of self; but the humility, exhaustion and fine, high delicacy *that* demands, I do not doubt the sleeping artist in Miss Bankhead has long since known.

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

PRETTY AS A PICTURE

MOVIES may not be better than ever, as the slogan says, but they certainly are prettier. Although the three new films under discussion this week are rather uninspired as to content, they are extraordinarily handsome to look at. "The Living Idol," which was beautifully photographed in Eastman Color and CinemaScope in Mexico, takes metempsychosis and animal worship very seriously. It starts with a quotation from Plato to the effect that "the soul can wear out many bodies," and then goes on to the story of a girl (Liliane Montevecchi) who thinks a jaguar is influencing her whole life. Maybe she has a point, it turns out, because when a famous archeologist (James Robertson Justice) and her father discover an ancient idol in the shape of a jaguar, the local Indians inform them that there is a living god in the statue. When the girl begins acting a bit dotty, her father explains that she's merely emotionally unstable. The gods get even with him, however, by dropping on him a large stone with a jaguar carved on it. And the young American reporter (Steve Forrest) with whom she's in love wisely decides at this point to go to Korea and cover a story. By the time he returns, Liliane is attending the University of Mexico and living with Justice and his wife. Justice, who has some odd ideas of his own and is writing a history of "Universal Sacrifices," is convinced that the girl has loss-of-soul sickness and he hopes to straighten her out with a live jaguar from the zoo. . . .

No doubt producer Albert Lewin and Gregorio Walerstein, who wrote and directed this very long and talky film, had some idea where the story and arguments about reincarnation were leading. And perhaps the lady-and-the-jaguar plot, plus the lovely scenes of Mexico and the University, would have made a fine one-hour thriller, but as it stands "The Living Idol" is a pretentious bore.

JEAN RENOIR, who once made such fine movies as "The Golden Coach," "The Southerner" and "The River," apparently had no idea where his story and arguments were going in his latest opus, "Paris Does Strange Things." It is a story of a Polish princess who inspires struggling men to bigger and better things and then loses interest in them when they attain success. But Renoir, who wrote and directed the film, discarded story for satire and then satire for *tour de force,* winding up with a mélange of disconnected scenes that make little sense. Some of the episodes poke hilarious fun at the French, but most of them, in a strange mixture of comedy styles, are silly, cynical and in bad taste. This is particularly unfortunate since he had a good cast headed by Ingrid Bergman as the princess and Mel Ferrer and Jean Marais as two of her inspired followers. It is possible, of course, that the American version of this French film is badly edited; the sound track has obviously been monkeyed with and at times the dubbing of voices is unbelievably poor. Renoir does shine, however, in his use of Technicolor; some of the scenes with their handsome turn-of-the-century costumes are brilliantly handled and sparkle with a vivacity and color reminiscent of the director's famous painter-father. But good cast and good color do not, alas, make a movie.

CINEMASCOPE and MetroColor show off Rome to advantage in "Ten Thousand Bedrooms," a musical-comedy treatment of an ancient plot. Dean Martin plays the son of a tycoon who owns a string of hotels that stretches practically around the globe. While dickering in Rome, Dean falls in love with Anna Maria Alberghetti, who enthusiastically reciprocates. But her father (Walter Slezak) insists that her three older sisters (Eva Bartok, Lisa Montell, Lisa Gaye) be married off before little Anna. And that's how Paul Henreid, Dewey Martin, John Archer and Steve Dunne get involved in the plot. Richard Thorpe has directed the picture at a slow snail's pace and the dialogue is dull and generally purposeless. There is some pleasant relief, though, whenever Jules Munshin brightens things up, as he does, for instance, in a duet with Dean Martin called "Money Is a Problem."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

"THE NUN IN LITERATURE"

Washington, D.C.

TO the Editors: One nun in literature who came instantly to mind while reading Mrs. Holzhauer's intelligent comment on "The Nun in Literature" in the February 22 issue of The Commonweal was Madre María del Pilar in *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. She is neither "coy" nor "innocuous" but neither is she "complicated" in the intricately bloodless manner of Mary McCarthy. Thornton Wilder, with short and even infrequent strokes, has succeeded in engraving a portrait of a nun whose roots are all with God and whose works for man, at once calm and impassioned, are the flowers of those roots. The picture escapes both the bathos of popular fiction and the sharp but basically undiscerning dissections of the egghead. Mr. Wilder has given us a nun who is body, soul and mind; Christian and Catholic; an effective administrator—even a "career woman"—who does not forget that the endless endeavors of her life can heap at last but to a mote in the sun of God.

MELBA MCGRATH.

"UTOPIA, INC."

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editors: I think it's quite unfortunate that Mr. Hacker in his article, "Utopia, Inc." [Feb. 8], chose to couch his critique of so important a corporate trend in terms of Utopianism.

On the one hand the Utopian charge appeals too readily to minds prejudiced in favor of the established order—or better, the "established disorder." It promotes an almost Olympian complacency because a Utopian experiment contains the elements of its ultimate failure in its own assumptions as Mr. Hacker shows. But this many people know and do we charge Communism with Utopianism and let it go at that? The more important point is, if one grants the charge, must the experiment be permitted to run its course? Mr. Hacker says only that "the historian of the future will laugh at the arrogance of the executive suite Utopians who thought they had solved the problems of man and his society by building country clubs and hiring psychiatrists." After all, is not this huge social joke tragically on us?

On the other hand, to evaluate as Utopian the big corporation's industrial relations programs of today is, I think, to miss their point, at least in great part. Certainly the famous Hawthorne study of 1929, as Mr. Hacker says, showed in spectacular fashion "the connection between psychological satisfaction and increased service to the corporation." But to designate the attempt to create conditions yielding that satisfaction Utopian is too broad a generalization—though no doubt many an "executive suite Utopian" can be found who likes to believe he has designed the perfect community.

But quite definitely that attempt is not Utopian if it is viewed in relation to two institutions neglected by Mr. Hacker, the labor movement and the Federal welfare state. Each is in effect a competitor in meeting the employee's needs. What I prefer to call Big Business's private welfare state is in part a tactic in the long struggle with organized labor. Without going into the entire history of the conflict one need only remember that the rather successful Company Union—the tactic of the 1920's—collapsed in the Great Depression; that the Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932 outlawed yellow dog contracts, eliminated the flagrant use of the injunction, etc.; that the Wagner Act of 1935 specified unfair labor practices and forced collective bargaining on the employer. Business was minus one tactic and several tried and true weapons. After the War, labor demanded fringe benefits of ever increasing size and scope, a move into the larger area of "psychological satisfaction." The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 may have raised difficulties for unions but has not checked the growth of their objectives. The matrix of conflict is not to be denied; "Utopia, Inc." falls into place as modernized and vastly enlarged Company Unionism (for those firms that can afford it) based of course not on the old common sense intuition of management but on a slightly more sophisticated social science, the understanding of which troubles no one. This is not Utopian.

That the 1930's acclimated the public to the concept of *positive* concern by the State for the general welfare did not, to understate the case, go unnoticed by business. With respect to this "threat" of the welfare state "Utopia, Inc." is more meaningfully interpreted as an attempt to prove that the large corporations particular, as opposed to the general welfare state, is more thorough, generous and—perhaps above all—*private*. A "happy" member of the "Corporation community" is unlikely to vote for welfare measures and the taxes to pay for them or the party that pushes their effective extension.

It should be noted that this is something of a check on the fulfillment of "the needs for self-esteem, for economic security, for a congenial social surrounding, and for a sense of belonging" of those excluded from the corporate welfare state. These latter however as members of the consuming public are in effect taxed to pay for the benefits the corporation "gives" to its employees, the privileged few. A case of "taxation without representation" if there ever was one; a better case than the American Colonies could make.

Finally the choice of the Utopian theme prevents

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Mr. Hacker from dealing at any length and depth with that most vital need which the corporate Utopia, essentially authoritarian, does not satisfy and cannot satisfy short of authentic employee representation on the board of directors and effective control of management. "The rulers of our corporations are social engineers who devise sophisticated plans for achieving the happiness of their subjects" and "the corporate employee is given no option other than to be treated as an entity" in the "new industrial Utopia." Mr. Hacker thus grants the existence of a kind of comfortable, happy slavery in which, he also points out, the slaves themselves are contented. Why not point then to "Utopia, Inc." as another "peculiar institution" in America and another American Dilemma?

In view of all these considerations I could accept the Utopian interpretation as important only if Mr. Hacker argued that the corporate Utopians believed its human relations programs constituted a "redemption" of the employee for his "original sin" of organizing labor unions and turning to democratic processes for the satisfaction of his needs.

"Utopia, Inc." better serves to illustrate the old conflict between labor and management with both—labor more delicately so—opposed to state. Both labor and business have their particular interests which they can defend and promote but both must give way to the general welfare for which the state is responsible. The conflict is really one of ideology, of authority, of power, of politics—whose concept of the good life is to be imposed? how and by whom will it be implemented? who will benefit from it? who will pay for it? The "executive suite Utopian" has his answers and as objectionable as they may be on certain grounds, Utopianism is largely irrelevant.

R. W. FAULHABER.

St. Joseph, Minn.

TO the Editors: I found Andrew Hacker's "Utopia, Inc." [Feb. 8] an excellent and much needed statement. I believe it provides articulation for what has been felt more or less vaguely for some time by many Catholics associated with big business companies.

Also, the status quo of the area of society referred to by Mr. Hacker would seem to be an ideal vehicle for meeting, in part, at least, what Christopher Dawson is calling for in his series of articles on Christian culture—a realization of our identity as Christians to such a degree that the impact of that realization is felt in the pertinent social group. The many Catholics associated with these companies might look hard at the motivations for work offered by the executive suites, might hold the company's philosophy to the light of Christian motivation for work, and then proceed to label the company's objectives in clear language. Rhetorical camouflage needs to be sounded out. The current ease and security offered by such companies are too readily substituted for Christian views of man's place in society—and the two do not overlap.

Acknowledging positive aspects and good will that may be found in such company organization, it nevertheless should be mutually recognized that the first and basic aim of the big company is the highest possible material production by each individual whatever his capacity might be. This basic aim, its necessarily limited and transient nature, has values of a different order than those intimately human areas into which the company-employed psychiatrists enter. The proper province of each needs to be clearly delineated.

To Christopher Dawson's list of "great forces . . . at work which are changing the lives and thoughts of men more effectively than has the arbitrary power of dictators or the violence of political revolution . . .", i.e. universal military service, universal suffrage and universal education ["Education and the State," Jan. 25] could there reasonably be added the "corporation blueprints" of America's big business companies, which Mr. Hacker calls "the most radical element in modern America"?

ALICE CROZIER.

NUCLEAR WAR

Fort Wayne, Ind.

TO the Editors: The Catholic Church has been throughout her history deeply concerned with the moral problems associated with the mutilation of the human body and the taking of human life. In order to guide those Catholics who have occupational moral hazards, the Church has provided in some cases, e.g. for doctors, moral analyses of most of the situations in which these people may find themselves during their professional life. However, the Church has failed miserably to provide any effective guidance for those people who are intimately concerned with the killing and *maiming* of millions of people. I refer specifically to those Catholics who are involved in the design of mass destruction weapon systems and techniques, e.g., A-bombs, H-bombs, long range missiles, superbombers, bacteriological warfare, etc.

I am a Catholic and a physicist and have been bothered by the moral factors involved in various developments in which I have participated in recent years. I have discussed the problem with several priests during the past few years and have been told that I am not responsible for any misuses of my developments, or that the Church has not spoken on the matter and, therefore, not to bother about it until that time comes.

U.S. Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, "Morality and Security" [December 14] discusses the importance of rejecting the concept of total

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war and returning to the fact that war is a moral action, "limited in its purposes and methods by the norms of justice" since presently available weapons make it certain that "everybody can now be killed in war." However, as valuable and important as Mr. Murray's address is, it is not a substitute for a moral theologian's analysis of the problem.

It is apparent to me that the essential problem is to define and defend the meaning to the terms combatant and non-combatant. This would make it possible to effectively reject the concept of total war and, in turn, make it possible to apply well-known ethical norms in evaluating various weapon systems in their intended applications. The Church must some day speak out on these questions. It might be better to do so now when she could give men of good will effective guidance. Failure to do so will probably result in Catholics drifting with the spirit of the times, being inculcated with the righteousness of the doctrine of total war.

KEVIN WALSH.

BOOKS

The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil

THE INNOCENT. By Madison Jones. Harcourt, Brace. $4.75.

By THOMAS F. CURLEY

THIS IS a first novel. If it were sexually sensational enough to attract wide popular interest, it would probably be attacked for its reactionary sentiments. It is not sexually sensational, and the style, although good and proper to the author's purpose, is seldom sprightly. For these reasons it has a very good chance of being widely ignored. I don't think it should be ignored, nor do I think that it should be described as reactionary. There is, however, some excuse for so describing it.

The author is a Southerner and the novel's place is the South in the mid-1930's. The hero is Duncan Welsh, who, as the book begins, is returning to his father's farm after seven years in the North, where he worked on several newspapers, was married for a short while and where he suffered blindness in one eye. Like many a young Southerner, Duncan went North to freedom. He returns disenchanted. "More and more that life [in the North] had come to seem to him a state of endless flux, a process of aimless and perpetual dissolution. . . . The one ideal shared by it all was that of sworn enmity to whatever was established, to whatever the past had held untouchable, worthy of love and transmission."

But he finds the same forces he hated in the North to be working back home. They are best represented by Garner, a minister and a preacher of the "social gospel" who marries Duncan's sister shortly after his return. Garner's family was poor white. One of his brothers was hanged and his father was a drunkard who worked a Negro's land. Garner, himself, is consumed by a resentment of the past; his religion and his ideas about society are mere weapons at the service of this resentment. Duncan Welsh hates Garner and one suspects that Mr. Jones shares the sentiment.

At the other extreme is Aaron McCool. A loner, a wolf, McCool is a moonshiner who lives alone and never sleeps, only dozes sitting up. At one point, Duncan sees McCool through a window at a moment when McCool does not know he is being watched. That momentary image, and Duncan's memory of it, constitute an "epiphany." The passage is also a good example of Mr. Jones's style.

> Even in that first instant of startled nerves it had come to him this way, stayed with him now, like the context that gives meaning to an incoherent fragment. It was that Aaron was something, a spirit, tossed there, suspended a moment in that tiny square of light by the north wind that whirled him in bitter eternal darkness somewhere over the roof of the world. Not the expression of, but the agony itself which the name of loneliness could scarcely more than suggest, Duncan remembered; or felt, half felt, in a heart that no more than humanly ached with the pang of it."

Duncan Welsh is the Innocent, yet he feels a kinship with McCool. McCool recognizes this feeling and slowly, with intuitive shrewdness, draws Duncan out of his innocence until in the end they are both killed by officers of the law. There is more to the book than this; there is, in Mr. Jones's prose, a steady, erotic knowledge of the earth, of the seasons, how they come, preside and depart. And there is Aunt Virgy, the old Negro woman, for whom the social changes taking place around her were ". . . like the games of children." Nevertheless, I think that this tension, this struggle within Duncan Welsh, his hatred of Garner and all he stands for, his fear of and attraction to McCool, is the kernel of Mr. Jones's story.

It is this "innocence" of Duncan Welsh's that bothers me. There is a somnolence about the hero, as if innocence were a natural stupidity deriving from ignorance and lack of will. That is an old and profound error. According to Yvor Winters it is the conscious theme of Valery's poem, *Ébauche d'un Serpent*. Creation is a flaw. A creature is damned because he desires infinite knowledge and cannot attain it. God's breath on the clay at the creation of man was a sigh of despair. Eden was a state of animal felicity which was destroyed when Eve was persuaded by the Serpent to eat of the Tree of Knowledge. Such an error is profound but it is answerable. Briefly, such a theory makes God Himself a creature, a creature of Nothingness. *"Toute-Puissance du Néant"* as Valery has it. But this is absurd and therefore meaningless. The truth is that truth sometimes seems jejune.

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Psychology and Melodrama

NOTHING BUT THE NIGHT. By James Yaffe. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $3.95.

By FRANK GETLEIN

FOR REASONS that escape me, the Loeb-Leopold case, almost from the event itself, has been hailed as one of the keys of the age, a summing up in sharp focus of what ails the times. Here it is again.

Beneath the abnormal psychology, the mirror of society, the superman philosophy and the rest, the real appeal of the celebrated case is probably its high content of sheer melodrama. The essence of melodramata is violence for the sake of violence and this too is the essence of Loeb-Leopold. The true story of the event itself probably had a lot more to do with the adolescent genius for melodrama than is likely to be acknowledged by the melodramatic writer having another go at it.

Yaffe's treatment is psychological. Two New York boys of the upper-middle class get together toward the end of their careers in a private secondary day school. Barry Morris has been overprotected from infancy and frequently dreams of a prince whom he rescues from danger and who rewards his heroism by accepting his loyalty. Paul King is impatient with the humdrum school and family life, makes Barry his faithful retainer and embarks on a course of breaking and entering *pour le sport*.

Deliberately taking greater and greater risks as boy burglars, the pair evade capture and Paul remains unsatisfied. He finally broaches to Barry his scheme of murder, of a perfect crime, eventually wins his slave around and the plot begins. After a dress rehearsal, they kidnap a child from their school and do him in. Barry, who had fought the madness every step of the way, breaks almost at once and confesses. The trial occupies a good deal of the book and the story ends with the pair in prison, Paul hardened in his mad self-love, Barry making tentative steps toward redemption.

On a rather low level of expertise, the novel is expertly written. Nothing at all, either in character or in human events, is allowed to interfere with the unfolding of the grand design. From the word Go, the character of the boys and how they got that way is harped on in every scene. The thing works well enough. Suspense is generated and maintained, but because there is throughout the intimation that overwhelming questions are about to be raised and then never are, the final impression is that the reader has been victimized by a psycho-philosopical shell game.

Yaffe does one admirable thing. After hashing over the central problem of motive, he turns the defense attorney loose on the question and dissolves reality in a fog wherein nothing at all is true or false, or, conversely, anything you wish is true. Technically, this is the most effective section of the novel. It would have been a lot more effective had the book ended there, but apparently he was unable to resist the ancient melodramatist's temptation to add up the column of figures he has been at such pains to inscribe.

Mistaken Act of Piety

THE PAPERS OF CHRISTIAN GAUSS. Edited by Katherine Gauss Jackson and Hiram Haydn. Random House. $6.

By JOSEPH M. DUFFY, JR.

FOR OVER forty years Christian Gauss was associated with that patrician Eastern university, Princeton, where he was Professor of Romance Languages and Dean of the College. Dean Gauss was not, however, originally an Easterner nor a patrician nor a Princetonian. He was born in Michigan and attended the state university at Ann Arbor. His father, the son of an inn-keeper, had, in reaction against Prussianism, emigrated from Germany to Ann Arbor. Dean Gauss's father felt such quixotic affection for the political ideals of his adopted country that he established his bakery and home on Liberty Street —valuing the name—rather than in a potentially more lucrative location on Main Street. Needless to say the elder Gauss was not a successful business man.

Thus a happy combination of circumstances joined America with Europe, the East with the Mid-West, liberalism with trade, and a small-town setting (for Ann Arbor in the seventies was a small town) with the study of romance languages. This combination accounted for a most distinguished personal force in American education. Christian Gauss belonged to a limited group of college administrators, more common perhaps in a few Eastern schools than elsewhere, who have been equally successful as teachers and administrators, who have not lost their respect for the power of the intellectual life in proportion as they have begun to enjoy their power of office, and who in their personal relations have influenced others by their firmness of intellect, breadth of outlook, and shapeliness of spirit. Christian Gauss impressed his students as teacher and dean; he impressed his faculty as their liberal and humane *colleague*.

The Papers of Christian Gauss is a memorial volume brought together by his daughter, Katherine Gauss Jackson, and by Hiram Haydn. It is a collection of fragments from Dean Gauss's diaries and journals, from class lectures at Princeton, and from correspondence with Edmund Wilson and Scott Fitzgerald. It would be particularly satisfying to be able to recommend this book to readers who might wish to know Dean Gauss, his mind and work. Unfortunately, one must assert such recommendation is not possible.

The Papers of Christian Gauss is a mistaken act of piety—such gestures frequently are. It is almost al-

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together fragmentary and, as a result, exasperatingly inconclusive. The reader of this volume is constantly in the position of a person who peeps through a crack in a door, who overhears just a snatch of conversation, or who gazes out astigmatically over a too-remote landscape. Dean Gauss's accounts of his early life in Michigan and of his work at Princeton extend for only sixty pages and are broken and incoherent because their author left them that way. Why then publish what Dean Gauss did not even begin to prepare for publication? And why, indeed, publish among such items, "Notes for Introduction of Clarence Darrow" and "Notes for a Press Club Talk," which are as unintelligible to the reader as such notes might be expected to be? Nor do the few class lectures, transcribed in shorthand by a student, worthily represent Dean Gauss as a man of letters. What teacher would want any of his daily lectures published unless they were thoroughly revised? At a distance of thirty years from the classroom and bereft of Dean Gauss's presence, these comments on Romanticism, Flaubert, Anatole France, and Byron, strike the contemporary reader as pleasant, genteel, and literate—and of no permanent value whatever.

More interesting is the correspondence with Edmund Wilson (certainly not that with Scott Fitzgerald which is so brief as not to warrant publication on the dust jacket). In his letters to Wilson, Dean Gauss is revealed as an encouraging, interested, and honestly critical teacher and friend not only to Wilson but also to his generation. And Wilson's generation Dean Gauss seemed to regard with reproachful sympathy. Dean Gauss was a man with religious convictions and a literary man grown to maturity in an earlier, less restless period. Although he admired their youth and tried to understand their lives and art, Gauss disapproved of what he regarded as the futile and amoral negativism of the generation of the 'twenties. He tried hard, but he could not accept the work of, for example, Cummings, Joyce, and Huxley. But the interest even here in this correspondence is only at the level of literary gossip which is not at all a substantially admirable activity.

The glimpses of the man in *The Papers of Christian Gauss* are not coherent enough to justify this volume. From a friend, a student, or a colleague, Christian Gauss deserves a richer, more unified commemoration of his life and work.

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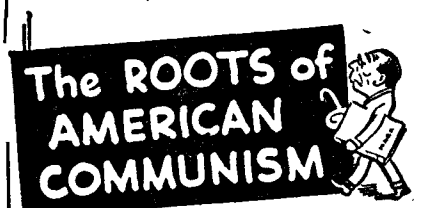

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today may be induced to transport ourselves into the periods described, if not as actual participators, at least as spectators then and there.

In *This Hallowed Ground,* Bruce Catton did a superb job on the Civil War in the manner indicated, weaving all the fragments of that tempestuous epoch into a coherent whole. Compared to it, *Rebels and Redcoats,* a story of the American Revolution, is merely a documentary film albeit an intelligent and fascinating one. The essential effects are all here, though not organized into what for want of a better word we may call a re-creation. The method here amounts to this: the authors, going assiduously through a mass of original materials—reports, diaries and statements by eyewitnesses—have incorporated generous bits of these into a chronological narrative, with their own interpolations to give it sequence, completeness and authenticity.

Today, in the long aftermath, we recognize George Washington as a military hero and ideal founder of his country. But such was not always the case. In his own day, during the struggle with England, he had his jealous rivals, detractors, and, in dark days when defeat stalked his footsteps and hunger and disease were faithful visitors in his camps, even some of his admirers became doubters. It is made clear that it is not ultimate victory that should be his chief claim to fame, but precisely those dark hours of defeat and discouragement which tried him to the utmost. In short, it was his power of endurance, his character and integrity that made him the noble and great man he was. Contemporary witnesses, men close to him, quoted in this chronicle, attest to his magnificent personal bravery.

It is the virtue of character that it recognizes character. Washington instantly liked the nineteen year-old Major General Lafayette who later observed, as he watched the great man stem the retreat at Monmouth: "I thought . . . that never had I beheld so superb a man." It was indeed in his own native fellow generals that Washington encountered refractory attitudes which threatened his authority. There was General

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Gates who, after his victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga, developed something of a swelled head. Detractors arose who clamored for Washington's removal on grounds of blundering and incompetence. Then there was trouble with General Charles Lee who at Monmouth refused to obey orders, claiming that his troops were "not able to meet British Grenadiers." Angry, Washington replied, "they are able, and by God, they shall do it!" According to General Charles Scott it was the only occasion known to him on which Washington swore "till the leaves shook on the trees . . . Never have I enjoyed such swearing before or since . . . he swore like an angel from Heaven."

There are small digressions like that of Baron Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel, a German who joined Burgoyne's staff: "With the filial sentimentality of the Germans, the Baron had allowed his petite, gay baroness to follow him from Europe with three small daughters and two maids, and he had ordered made for her a large calash in which to trail the army through the American wilderness."

It is such backstage asides, intimate episodes usually omitted from cut and dried chronicles which pass for histories, that make this volume, steeped as it is in human nature, so absorbingly readable. Our generation is truly fortunate in its historiographers and in their effort to make history live.

REVIEWERS

Thomas F. Curley is a novelist and critic who contributes frequently to The Commonweal.

Frank Getlein is art critic for the Milwaukee *Journal*.

Joseph M. Duffy, Jr. is on the faculty of the University of Notre Dame.

John Cournos is a well-known critic and anthologist of Americana.

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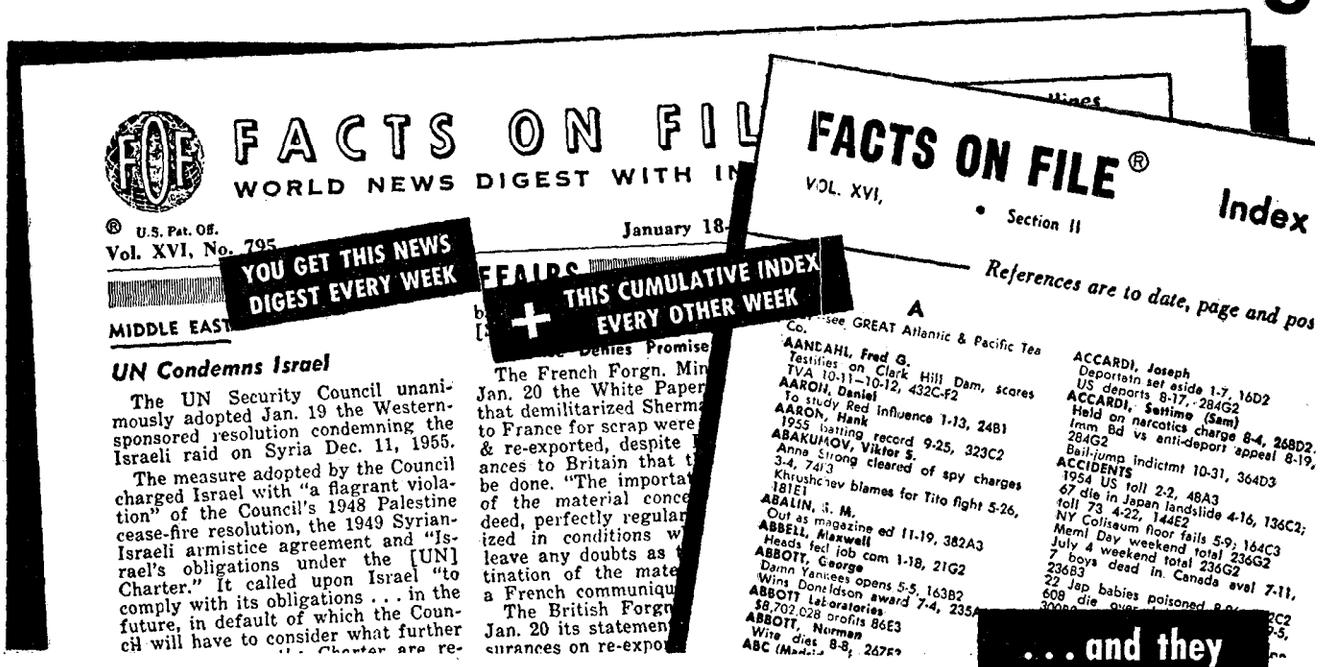
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UN Condemns Israel
The UN Security Council unanimously adopted Jan. 19 the Western-sponsored resolution condemning the Israeli raid on Syria Dec. 11, 1955.
The measure adopted by the Council charged Israel with "a flagrant violation" of the Council's 1948 Palestine cease-fire resolution, the 1949 Syrian-Israeli armistice agreement and "Israel's obligations under the [UN] Charter." It called upon Israel "to comply with its obligations . . . in the future, in default of which the Council will have to consider what further
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Index
References are to date, page and pos
A
Co. see GREAT Atlantic & Pacific Tea
AANDAHL, Fred G.
Testifies on Clark Hill Dam, scares TVA 10-11—10-12, 432C-F2
AARON, Daniel
To study Red influence 1-13, 24B1
AARON, Hank
1955 batting record 9-25, 323C2
ABAKUMOV, Viktor S.
Anna Strong cleared of spy charges 3-4, 74I3
Khrushchev blames for Tito fight 5-26, 181E1
ABALIN, S. M.
Out as magazine ed 11-19, 382A3
ABBELL, Maxwell
Heads fed job com 1-18, 21G2
ABBOTT, George
Damn Yankees opens 5-5, 163B2
Wins Donaldson award 7-4, 235A
ABBOTT Laboratories
$8,702,028 profits 86E3
ABBOTT, Norman
Wife dies 8-8, 267E2
ABC (Madrid)
ACCARDI, Joseph
Deportatn set aside 1-7, 16D2
US deports 8-17, 284G2
ACCARDI, Settimo (Sam)
Held on narcotics charge 8-4, 268D2, 284G2
Bail-jump indictmt 10-31, 364D3
ACCIDENTS
1954 US toll 2-2, 48A3
67 die in Japan landslide 4-16, 136C2; toll 73 4-22, 144E2
NY Coliseum floor fails 5-9; 164C3
Mem'l Day weekend total 236G2
July 4 weekend total 236G2
7 boys dead in Canada eval 7-11, 236B3
22 Jap babies poisoned
608 die
2C2
5-5,

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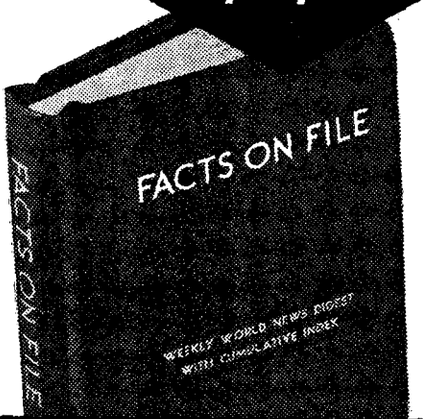

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